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The famine in Germany.

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The Famine in Germany

Speech of
Hon. William Langer
of North Dakota
in the
Senate of the United States
March 29, 1946

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SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM LANGER

Mr. LANGER. This morning's Washington Post contains a letter written by Henry C. Taylor, who enclosed a letter from Karl Brandt who is the economic adviser to the United States Army stationed in Germany, whose letter is also printed in this morning's Washington Post. That letter is from the one who is more expert than anyone else in the world on this subject. I read as follows under the heading *Famine in Germany*:

**Economic Advisor to United States Army
in Germany Deplores Famine in Europe**

The following letter to me from Dr. Karl Brandt is self-explanatory. He is stationed in Berlin, Germany, with the Office of Military Government, United States Food and Agriculture Branch. The facts in his letter may not be new to you. To me they are appalling. As a citizen of the United States, I cannot refrain from sending you a copy. I hope you will bring your great influence to bear with a view to getting immediate action to meet this critical situation.

HENRY C. TAYLOR.

WASHINGTON, March 26.

I will now read the letter printed below that, written by Karl Brandt, the expert on food for the United States Army stationed today in Germany. He writes as follows:

The greatest famine catastrophe of recent centuries is upon us in central Europe. Our Government is letting down our military government in the food deliveries it promised, although what Generals Clay, Draper, and Hester asked for and were promised was

the barest minimum for survival of the people. We will be forced to reduce the rations from 1,550 calories to 1,000 or less calories.

The few buds of democracy will be burned out in the agony of death of the aged, the women, and children.

What has become of those beautiful words we heard from the late President of the United States of America who said: **128918**

The war is not against the German people. The war is against Hitler and his satellites.

**Aged, Women, and Children Dying Due to
American and British Neglect**

But who are starving in Germany today, Mr. President? The economic adviser to our Army in Germany says it is the aged and the women and children. I have on my desk, if any Senator cares to look at them, pictures showing some results of starvation now prevalent in Germany, Austria, and Poland.

I continue to read from Karl Brandt's letter:

The British and we are going on record as the ones who let the Germans starve. The Russians will release at the height of the famine substantial food stores they have locked up (300,000 to 400,000 tons of sugar, large quantities of potatoes).

Aside from the inhumanity involved, it is so criminally stupid to give such a performance of incredible fumbling before the eyes of the world. It makes all the many hard-working officers of Office of Military Government, Food and Agriculture Branch, ashamed.

KARL BRANDT.

BERLIN, GERMANY, March 18.

Ashamed, Mr. President. And that is said not by a Russian, not by a German, or Austrian, or a Pole, but by the

food adviser to the United States Army itself, Mr. Karl Brandt.

As I said before, Mr. President, one of the greatest crises ever to confront America and humanity now faces us. I can conceive of no more cowardly or ignoble service to posterity than that men, by their silence, should permit the present catastrophe to continue unchallenged and unchecked.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MURDOCK in the chair). Does the Senator from North Dakota yield to the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. LANGER. I do.

Shipstead Says Starvation in Germany and Central Europe Preplanned

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. The Senator will remember, and I think it ought to be recorded, that the plan was agreed to at Potsdam by the powers who have divided the world that the grabber who grabs shall keep what he grabs. Starvation and famine exist not only in Germany and central Europe but also throughout the occupied countries such as Poland and the Balkan states, and it was planned that way.

Mr. LANGER. That is correct.

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from North Dakota yield for a question?

Mr. LANGER. I yield to the Senator from Mississippi.

Eastland Accuses America of Withholding Surplus Food

Mr. EASTLAND. I should like to tell the distinguished Senator from North Dakota that I personally know Dr. Karl Brandt. He is one of the most intelligent and one of the finest gentleman I

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have ever known. From what I know of the situation the picture he paints is accurate. There is mass starvation, and, solely as a result of the policies of our Government, women and helpless little babies are starving. The distinguished Senator knows that no real attempt is being made today to get and ship food into Europe. We have surplus foods in this country, but there is no effort made to send the food abroad, where it is so urgently needed. I know that the control commission is withholding food at this time. Does the distinguished Senator know that the agreements reached in the city of Berlin, by which over 50 percent of all German industry will be shipped out of the country, will result in a permanent standard of living of 2,000 calories a day, which simply means starvation in the future unless this country contributes relief?

State Department Refused Plea of People to Send Food Abroad

Mr. LANGER. I have been following the situation rather closely and I thank the Senator for his statement. I remember the distinguished senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE], the junior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. WHERRY], and the distinguished Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND], called upon the President and discussed the matter with him. I remember when the senior Senator from Michigan stood upon the floor of the Senate with tears in his eyes and presented a petition signed by 8,000 citizens of Michigan, begging our State Department to permit people in this country to send food to their relatives in Germany and Poland and Rumania and Austria, and that the State

Department refused that plea, as it has refused others up to a few months ago.

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LANGER. I yield.

Our Government Closes Fertilizer Plants; Refuses to Help People Help Themselves

Mr. EASTLAND. The Senator knows that in Europe the soils cannot produce anything without fertilizer, and that we are not only refusing to contribute the necessary food to save human life there but we refuse to permit the people of central Europe to help themselves. Their nitrate and other fertilizer plants are shut down by force of arms, and we refuse to permit them to be reopened, which not only now but in the future will mean mass starvation and great human suffering, and those are policies of our Government under the control of Mr. Baruch and Mr. Sidney Hillman and Mr. Morgenthau.

**Human Misery Is Fertile Bed for
Revolutions**

Mr. LANGER. I thank the Senator.

I say further, Mr. President, that men cannot possibly build a world fit for human habitation on the foundation of human misery and human degradation now being laid in Europe and in Asia by the major powers who were victorious in this war.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LANGER. I yield.

**America Is Cross Section of Europe—But
for Grace of God, Those Who Suffer
Might Be You**

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. I call attention to the fact, of which I am sure the Senator from North Dakota and other Senators

are not unaware, that the conditions which prevail and which are increasing manifold the misery of the people of Europe, are the proper ground for planting the seed of the Communist theory throughout all of central Europe.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, this great human tragedy now confronting us holds in its horrible embrace every group, race, and nationality represented in the vast cross section of the peoples of the world who now constitute the backbone of America. What many Americans cannot yet understand is that we are all in the same boat together.

**Jews Who Endured Most Under Nazis
Still Persecuted**

The tragedy confronting us is no respecter of persons. For instance, the minority which has suffered most under Nazi persecution is now crying aloud for redress and for help in the midst of this new catastrophe. On February 25, Mr. Bernard Baruch described the plight of European Jewry in the following words:

Added to their physical suffering is their mental anguish, for they have become the unwanted, driven from place to place, welcomed nowhere. Constant fear presses them to move on somewhere—somehow—anywhere away from the persecutions existing even now. They do not want to go back to the countries they left because there robbery, riot, and even murder stalk the land.

On January 4, Mr. Reuben Resnik, director in Italy of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, stated that:

European Jews, being sheltered in centers for displaced persons in Austria and Italy, are physically under par, emotionally broken, and economically in an utter state of deprivation.

In speaking of the vast numbers of deportees, including Jews, who are reaching these displaced-persons camps in Austria and Italy, Mr. Resnik said:

When the people from Poland and the Balkans arrive in Italy they are in a bad state. There is no question that they are undernourished, and seriously undernourished. Many are without teeth. Others are tubercular. Still others lack even the funds to buy shoes, and have walked to the camps barefooted.

On January 21, Mr. David Brill, leader of the Vienna Jewish community in Austria, said:

The few Jews who survived Hitler's massacres here have been utterly disappointed in their hope that the dawn of freedom would now come for them.

On January 23, Mr. Michael G. Tress, president of the Agudath Israel Youth Council of America, returning from Europe after a month and a half abroad under UNRRA auspices, made just such a sorry admission when on January 23 he stated that:

The Jews, while they might in time make a way of life in Rumania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia * * * fear the Russian orbit terribly.

Mr. President, Catholic, Protestant, Jew alike are caught in this vast maelstrom of human suffering. Representatives and nationals of every country in Europe including the infants, the helpless women and children, and the aged are suffering the same threat of hunger, disease, and starvation. The disintegration of human society has cut across all racial and religious lines; it has cut across all boundaries of distinction between the strong and the weak, the ex-

enemy and the ally, and the guilty and the innocent alike.

Discrimination Must Be Wiped Out if Men, Not Mobs, Are to Emerge From Chaos

Has not the time come for America to rise to this occasion and deal with a problem that staggers the combined resources of cultured and Christianized civilization as a problem of humanity as a whole? Any attempt to continue discrimination, favoritism and special categories of treatment in the midst of such chaos is a betrayal of our common humanity. Nothing but mobs which are "human varieties of nuclear disintegration", can emerge as inevitable threats to the future peace of the civilized world, if our vision and courage are not now great enough to embrace this task before us in the spirit of human brotherhood.

Human Collapse Is World Problem That Calls for Cooperation

A second issue confronting us is whether, in this hour of humanity's crying need, we are to attempt the rebuilding of a world society on the basis of cooperation directed toward the alleviation of this terrifying suffering and the remedying of its cause. At this moment the same blind fanaticism and hatred that have been largely responsible for our present calamity are doing everything in their power further to estrange many nations of the world which are both anxious and able to make great contributions toward the alleviation of the world's distress. Spain has just opened her borders to thousands of Jewish children and is willing and able to do more. Sweden has just announced that she is opening her borders to provide sanctuary for

thousands of Polish Jews and their children who are fleeing Poland. Switzerland, which has just been compelled by the United States Government to round up and expel all German Nationals from her borders, whether violent anti-Nazis or not, has a vast reservoir of devotion to international law and centuries of sanity in dealing with the complex European problems which the victor powers in this war can ill afford to keep dammed up behind a fanatical policy of hatred and vengeance. The Argentine, one of the great food-producing centers of the world, is desperately needed in this terrifying international fight against disease and famine with which we are confronted.

Can anyone conceive of a more heroic task or of a greater challenge to the statesmen of the world than that at this hour of the world's anguish the nations of the earth should prove in practice their many professions of desire for a peace based on mutual cooperation?

Moral Law Needed as Guide to Understanding

A third issue involved in this crisis is the question whether blind hatred of man against man, group against group, and nation against nation, is to strengthen the forces of nationalism and spread the disease of a perverted racialism already loosed across the world. Has not the time come for America to revive that spirit which is rooted in a deep and abiding faith in the moral law operating in a moral universe? Whether we like it or not, the most divisive and destructive force in the world, and the deepest root of tyranny, is hatred.

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Hate Never Builds; It Only Destroys

If the American people and the American Government do not tear out by the roots the hatred that has already so far eaten into their attitudes toward their fellow men, we shall awaken in the not far distant future to the terrible fact that we too have become conquered by the spirit of hatred, cruelty, and racial intolerance which made Hitler what he was. Hatred always fights against something, but hatred can never create anything worth fighting for. America must continue to struggle for a world fit for freemen both at home and abroad. If we are not to lose the fight we must rebuild our whole relationship with other nations and people on the foundation of tolerance, friendship, and a respect for the spiritual unity of purpose that binds the human family together.

The report of the Rockefeller Foundation for 1941 describes the kind of a world in which America alone can endure:

Unselfish World of Science an Object Lesson to All—American Soldiers Saved by Jap and German Medical Discoveries

Whether we wish it or not, an indelible pattern of unity has been woven into the society of mankind. There is not an area of activity in which this cannot be illustrated. An American soldier wounded on a battlefield in the Far East owes his life to the Japanese scientist, Kitasato, who isolated the germ of tetanus. A Russian soldier saved by a blood transfusion is indebted to Lansteiner, an Austrian. A German soldier is shielded from typhoid fever with the help of a Russian, Metchnikoff. A Dutch marine in the East Indies is protected from malaria because a Frenchman, Pasteur, and a German, Koch, elaborated a new technique . . . In

peace as well as in war we are all of us the beneficiaries of contributions to knowledge made by every nation in the world. Our children are guarded from diphtheria by what a Japanese and a German did; they are protected from smallpox by an Englishman's work; they are saved from rabies because of a Frenchman; they are cured of pellagra through the researches of an Austrian. From birth to death they are surrounded by an invisible host—the spirits of men who never thought in terms of flags or boundary lines and who never served a lesser loyalty than the welfare of mankind. * * * Ideas cannot be hedged in behind geographical barriers. Thought cannot be nationalized. * * * The things that divide us are trivial compared with the things that unite us.

The fourth issue, Mr. President, I wish to deal with at greater length because it involves the whole future of our integrity as a law-abiding, self-respecting, liberty-loving people. Our national honor is now at stake in this crisis.

Franklin Roosevelt Promised Fair Play to People of Germany, Believing That in All Peoples Lives Instinct for Truth

On October 21, 1944, the late President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, in a speech before the Foreign Policy Association of New York City, made the following statement on the German question:

As for Germany, that tragic nation, which has sown the wind and is now reaping the whirlwind, we and our allies are entirely agreed that we shall not bargain with the Nazi conspirators or leave them a shred of control—open or secret—of the instruments of government. We shall not leave them a single element of military power or a potential military power. But I should be false to the very foundations of my religious and political convictions if I should ever relinquish the hope, or even the faith,

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that in all peoples, without exception, lives some instinct for truth, some attraction toward justice, some passion for peace, buried as it may be, in the German case, under a brutal regime.

We bring no charge against the German race as such, for we cannot believe that God has eternally condemned any race of humanity. We know, in our own land, how many good men and women of German ancestors have proved loyal, freedom-loving, and peace-loving citizens.

But there is going to be stern punishment for all those in Germany directly responsible for this agony of mankind.

The German people are not going to be enslaved, because the United Nations do not traffic in human slavery.

I wonder if our dead President is not turning over in his grave as he sees what is now going on in the world, when millions of men, women, and children are being enslaved.

President Roosevelt continued:

But it will be necessary for them to earn their way back into the fellowship of peace-loving and law-abiding nations. And in their climb up that steep road we shall see to it that they are not encumbered by having to carry guns.

That statement by President Roosevelt could hardly have been made in a more deliberate and solemn manner. He set the statement apart from the body of his speech by prefacing it with the words, "To digress a moment." He made the statement out of "the very foundations of" his "religious and political convictions."

America of George Washington Stood for Humane Principles

That statement was accepted, on the whole, by the American people. It was

accepted by the GI's and the Wacs. It was accepted by the men and women of America who bought war bonds. It was found to be in harmony with their determination to prevent the initiation of another war on German soil and also with their traditional concern for humane principles, because, Mr. President, that is what the American people stand for.

Mr. President, those solemn promises have been further reinforced by the following statements of intent. On October 27, 1945, in the Nation, Mr. Leon Henderson quoted from a letter written by President Roosevelt to Secretary of War Stimson, as follows:

It is of utmost importance that every person in Germany should realize that this time Germany is a defeated nation. I do not want them to starve to death, but, as an example, if they need food to keep body and soul beyond what they have, they should be fed three times a day with soup from Army soup kitchens. That will keep them perfectly healthy, and they will remember that experience all their lives.

Mr. President, they are not being fed three times a day. I hold in my hand pictures of what is happening to the men, women, and children in the conquered countries of Europe.

Potsdam Declaration Assured Innocence of German People

As the distinguished senior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. SHIPSTEAD] said a few moments ago, the Potsdam declaration, signed by the heads of state of the three great victor powers, contains the following solemn declaration:

It is not the intention of the Allies to destroy or enslave the German people. It is

the intention of the Allies that the German people be given the opportunity to prepare for the eventual reconstruction of their life on a democratic and peaceful basis.

In an indictment drawn up against the Nazi leaders who sit now in the dock at Nuremberg, a special section is devoted to Nazi crimes against humanity. But, again, even the indictment of Mr. Justice Jackson specifically denies the universal guilt of the German people for these crimes. According to Mr. Jackson—

We have no purpose to incriminate the whole German people. We know the Nazi Party was not put in power by a majority of the German vote. We know it came to power by an evil alliance between . . . extreme Nazi revolutionists and the most aggressive German militarists.

America Accomplice in Plot to Destroy German People

Yet, Mr. President, those statements of principle and purpose have been and continue to be violently and cynically reversed. On every hand, horrifying and incriminating evidence continues to mount of what is actually being done by the decisions and practices of the major victor powers in this war. America has become an accomplice in one of the most staggering crimes ever committed against humanity, and it is not only our former enemies who are the victims. The consequences of what American leadership has done are far more sweeping than that.

On September 17, 1945, President Truman assured at least our allies that:

This country shall do its full part along with other supplying nations in helping to restore health and strength to those who fought at our side, both in Europe and the Far East.

But now we discover, to our deep dismay, Mr. President, that even this pledge is not going to be fulfilled. Both victor and vanquished, ex-enemy and ally—all are caught in what has now unfolded as a savage and fanatical plot to destroy the German people by visiting on them a punishment in kind for the atrocities of their leaders. Not only have the leaders of this plot permitted the whole world situation to get so out of hand that our allies are now suffering worse privations than they ever suffered under the Nazis, but their determination to destroy the German people and the German Nation, no matter what the consequences to our own moral principles, to our leadership in world affairs, to our Christian faith, to our allies, or to the whole future peace of the world, has become a world scandal.

United States Fosters Same Brutal Starvation for Which We Hang Nazis at Nuremberg

Of what are the representatives of the Nazis—like Goering, Hess, and Streicher, and the aggressive German militarists who sit with them in the dock—accused, in the charge of “Crimes against humanity”? They are accused of the murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, and other inhuman acts committed against civilian populations before and during the war.

Among the crimes with which this leadership has been charged is the crime of systematic and mass starvation of racial or political minorities or opponents. The diet of the Nazi victims was so reduced that they were unable to subsist on it. Nourishment was beneath the level necessary to sustain normal

standards of weight and to ward off infectious and other diseases, such as tuberculosis, from which a high percentage of concentration-camp inmates who survived were found to suffer. The inmates, while compelled to labor, were not granted enough food to enable them to work. We have all seen the grim pictures of the piled-up bodies uncovered by the American and British Armies, and our hearts have been wrung with pity at the sight of such emaciation—reducing adults and even little children to mere skeletons. Yet now, to our utter horror, we discover that our own policies have merely spread those same conditions even more widely, among our allies, as well as among our former enemies.

Mr. President, the staggering plight of humanity that now confronts the American conscience continues to demand immediate and forceful remedial action if a far worse catastrophe is not to break upon us in the year ahead.

Pictures of Starving Children Are a Symbol of Our Kind of Peace

I hold in my hand absolutely authentic photographs which have been taken at the beginning of the winter in the city of Berlin. These photographs are interchangeable for horror with the photographs with which we became familiar from Dachau, Mauthausen, Buchenwald, and other extermination camps. These are photographs of children between the ages of 5 and 14.

I hand the photographs to the distinguished senior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. SHIPSTEAD], and I ask that, in turn, he hand them to the distinguished leaders of the minority and the majority parties. These photographs show limbs

that have withered to mere reeds of bones; faces so pinched that the eyes protrude as though of abnormal size; bellies distended by edemic bloat, or collapsed against ribs and pelvis in which every bone can be counted. These are the bodies of German children. They are the bodies of dying children.

Strange as it may seem, Mr. President, these pictures of German children who have been starving under the eyes and the control of an American military government have become the symbol of the kind of world and the kind of peace we have been creating since the war ended.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LANGER. I yield.

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. Are we expected to accept these photographs as examples of the effect of the "four freedoms" which were to be established throughout the world?

Mr. LANGER. That is exactly it, apparently, I say to the Senator. The photographs show the way the American promises were kept.

Treating Children as Enemies a Disgrace to America

Mr. President, I have continually advocated the swift, just, and sure trial and punishment of the Nazi and Fascist war criminals, whose deliberate acts have so largely contributed to the present chaos. But I refuse to be identified in any way with any policy or decision which continues the war-long years into the future, after the formal cessation of hostilities, and visits upon the helpless and the innocent a diabolic vengeance. To my knowledge, America has never

known any enemy children. I refuse now to indict the American conscience as being anything but revolted by the actual fact that millions upon millions of the helpless, of the sick, of the innocent, from infants to the aged, are now suffering the tortures of the damned, either through the criminal intent or the criminal neglect of men who had the unmitigated effrontery so to represent and so to commit the American people.

Mr. President, as a representative of a State which I am proud to represent in the Senate of the United States, I say let Mr. Truman and those whom he has appointed make the most of it; but their actions, I repeat, are a disgrace to civilization, and will be so considered when times again become normal and when civilization is really civilization again.

Mr. President, all the terrifying admissions on the part of our Government officials—and they are admissions—concerning the desperate food crisis now confronting humanity, are steps at least in the right direction, but there has not yet been either an official or unofficial admission of the fact that this grave threat of famine is deeply rooted in policies and practices which have already been largely responsible for the world's present predicament.

It is perfectly obvious that until these basic policies to which America has been a party, have been exposed to the searching of the world's conscience and dragged out into the open where they cannot help but die of the withering contempt of the American people, even a graver crisis looms momentarily before us.

Quartering Germany Per Morgenthau Plan Splits World Apart, Too

History already records the fact that a savage minority of bloody bitter-enders within this Government forced the acceptance of the brutal Morgenthau plan upon the present administration. I ask, Mr. President, Why in God's name did the administration accept it? By its provisions Germany was drawn and quartered, and left to be administered by four powers in four completely isolated zones. Recent developments have merely confirmed scores of earlier charges that this addled and vicious Morgenthau plan had torn Europe in two and left half of Germany incorporated in the ever-expanding sphere of influence of an oriental totalitarian conspiracy. By continuing a policy which keeps Germany divided against itself, we are dividing the world against itself and turning loose across the face of Europe a power and an enslaving and degrading cruelty surpassing that of Hitler's.

I want to read into the RECORD at this point a statement incorporating the Communist program for Germany, entitled "Strategy and Tactics Prescribed by the Seventh World Congress." This is the resolution drawn up by the Communist Party on the anniversary of the French Socialist Party Day of October 1944:

Communist Party Analyzes Past Mistakes and Urges Temporary Cooperation With Social Democrats in Germany

The Nazi-Fascist victory in Germany and the complete destruction of all workers' organizations forced the international workers' movement, as a result of this development, to study the mistakes that made this

destruction possible. In spite of the terrible wounds which we in Germany have suffered it is a comfort to know that, as a result of the understanding of the reasons for our downfall, the political program was developed that led to the destruction of fascism in all other countries and ultimately, with impetus from abroad, forced its downfall also in Germany. We must clearly understand that in these last 12 years the German workers' movement, which formerly stood with us at the apex of the international, came to an end. We must draw the proper conclusions therefrom; we must learn from the other political parties in order to correct the former mistakes.

The seventh world congress realized, as a result of the reports of Comrades Dimitroff, Pieck, and Ercoli, that one of the greatest mistakes of the Communist Party of Germany was the ultra-leftist position, which was adopted because of the Neumann group. It was a mistake to conduct the principal attack against the Social Democrats, for that gave the Nazis opportunity to advance themselves as the new chief social defense of the bourgeoisie. It was a mistake grossly to abuse and attack the left wing of the Social Democrats. By clever handling they might have been made to constitute a bridge over which the mass of workers, moving toward the left, could have passed in entering the Communist Party of Germany. It was a mistake to split the trade-union movement, since our goal is not to set up some revolutionary trade-unions but rather to obtain such control over the largest trade-unions as will permit of the absorption of all organized workers. It was a mistake to work for the united front only from below, because most of the Social Democrats support their leaders strongly, and do not clearly understand their reactionary inclinations as do the Communists. It is necessary to radicalize the masses through a united front operating from above and from below, and so

bring their reactionary leaders under pressure that ultimately the goal of our planned campaign—the proletarian revolution—will be brought into view.

Resolution of the French Socialist Party
Day of October 1944:

1. Struggle against every anti-Communist policy.

2. Exclusion of every Socialist functionary and deputy who worked with the Vichy regime.

It was a mistake, because of lack of interest in the solution of purely national questions, to leave that field practically open to the Fascist demagogues. It was a mistake to overlook the fact that out of fear of Fascist policy a part of the bourgeoisie—expert, industry, etc.—actually was prepared to go a little way along the road of cooperation with us. It was a mistake that the party did not understand how to speak in a language that the masses understood, but rather formulated a party jargon and followed procedures, which remained strange to the broad masses and did not stir them.

Comrades: The listing of all these mistakes is a great reproach to us, since we made them. The result of these mistakes was the liquidation of the corps of the organization. We must begin anew and undertake that which the others have learned from our mistakes. On one point no one has shaken our faith and no one can shake our faith: The Communist Party of Germany was the only party which, through all the years, with boldness and daring, carried on the battle against fascism in Germany. The name of Ernst Thaelmann is a symbol.

Communist Revolution Won't Be Hastened by Opposing America Now, Russia Asserts

Now it is necessary not only to want the revolution but also to be able to bring it about. The basis for every successful political act is the correct appraisal of the

actual situation, that is to say, the correct estimate for existing relative strengths of groups. It is a fact that the proletariat in Germany for the present still is not strong enough to change; this is our task. The machinery of the Social Democratic Party is much less destroyed than ours, since they did not fight as strongly against Hitler as we did. The Americans, as occupying Army, represent at present the only existing power factor in our area. Openly to oppose them would provide a senseless provocation.

What resources can we count on? There are available for the present the suffering working class which, although still unorganized for the present, is instinctively striving for united action; a part of the middle class and of the youth who, because of concern for the national future of Germany, are on the lookout for a source of strength; a part of the bourgeoisie, which got rough handling from the Nazis and is today worried about being gobbled up by American imperialism. All of these groups are worth using together in the struggle that leads to the next step—which is a democratic Germany—so that in the process of repairing Hitler's misdeeds, unity and freedom again may be gained. Democracy, not on the Weimar pattern, not as a coalition with the bourgeoisie against the workers, but after the Yugoslav and French methods, as a means to power from below in the hands of the embattled people.

What is the meaning of the strategy and tactics of the class struggle of the proletariat?

Strategy is the never changing, hard and fast campaign aimed at the ultimate goal: overthrow of the capitalistic-oppressive state, dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism, and classless society.

Tactics are only the procedures and struggles and battles which are necessary to arrive at the strategic goal. They are by no means always advances. Some retreats, some side-

ways movements, and some stationary periods are necessary.

Was the retreat of the Red Army to Lenin-grad and Moscow part of the plan for the liquidation of fascism; and was the sacrifice at Stalingrad part of the plan for destroying Hitler? No. They were results of the power relationships. But the retreat tactic of the Red Army made it possible to change this relationship so that the strategic goal was, once and for all, achieved with the capture of Berlin.

From this we can learn something. The power relationships do not allow us to proceed directly toward our strategic goal. But the promotion of a free, democratic Germany must transform and lead to the destruction of this power relationship in the same way, and it will open to us the way to our strategic goal directly through this tactical retreat.

Communists Urge Mobilization of All Anti-Fascist Forces in Order to Bring It to "Flame"

Today's tactics call for: Mobilization of all anti-Fascist forces for the struggle for this immediate next step goal, which is clear and desired by all. In this movement for the present the bourgeoisie and, too, the Social Democrats will be able to take the lead. If we succeed in getting this movement in full swing and not letting it be stopped in any governmental offices or by any laws, then the Communists (since they are the most active, clear sighted, and adaptable) will and must take over the leadership in time.

The weakness of our organization in Germany, by comparison with the imperialistic occupying army, does not allow us, under any circumstances, for the present, to "operate on our own." The party, however necessary it may be, may not work in its own interest. It must work with the anti-Fascist movement of the masses. The crux of the tactic must be the workers' united front. Comrades! Do not worry about and do not oppose our cooperation with the petri-

fied leadership of the Social Democratic Party. Only if we compel it, through its own membership from below to establish a united front and also work from above, can we drive it from the field. The other route does not lead to the goal. We paid dearly for this information over a period of 12 years. Comrades! In the race for the leadership of the united front we have the best fuel, the best gasoline, in our bolshevist leadership. We do not find it necessary to travel in a special auto, especially since our organizational weakness would always compel us, and would have compelled us, to use a bad automobile. Why should we, when we have the best fuel, shirk using the same way as our social democratic competitors and partners? Are the bolsheviks obliged to accede while the others pass them? No! It is not at all necessary to fear open methods.

In open, honorable struggle for the leadership, we shall and must, supported by our Lenin-inspired theory and practice, obtain the leadership and make it impossible for men to say afterward that we used unethical means.

The united front of the workers is absolutely necessary! Also, no upright Social Democrat can deny that. We shall, with all honorable means, try, within this united front, to gain control (*durchsetzen*). No man can disapprove of that. We shall for the present support the left wing of the Social Democrats, since it is very close to us anyway. We shall thereby be able to push the whole movement forward. Thereby we shall be able to compel the whole labor movement to evolve to the left and prevent that the Social Democrats try to impose on their members an actively reactionary tendency toward the right, using radical-sounding words in their old way.

Those are the lessons that our comrades in France, Denmark, Italy, and Poland as well as in all European countries, have drawn from our defeat. We must learn from their

conclusions. The country's bourgeoisie must group itself around the nucleus of workers. The national committee "Free Germany" (Freies Deutschland), headed by Generals Seydlitz and Paulus with Pleck and Florian as Communist members, showed us the way. Our program is: Liquidation of fascism in the interest of a free, democratic Germany; reestablishment of basic, democratic rights (except for the exclusion of the Nazis); punishment of war criminals and those guilty of atrocities; expropriation of the Fascist industrialists, bankers, and landowners, with obligation to pay compensation; opposition to a new Versailles; and safeguard for the basic rights of workers.

On this basis we must stand, in order to bring the anti-Fascist mass movement into "flame." Above all, the Communists must take their place as equal partners. That is an obvious proposition that one must abide by. We must first gain the leadership.

Mr. President, if there is any doubt in the minds of my listeners that the document which I have just read constitutes the real aims of Soviet Russia, perhaps the following reports will serve to dispel that doubt. On March 18, Mr. C. L. Sulzberger cabled the New York Times from Berlin as follows:

Sulzberger, of New York Times, Fears Germany Will Succumb to Communism

The world diplomatic crisis, which unfortunately shows signs of crystallizing into a contest for ascendancy by the bloc of nations led by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the one hand and by the United States and Britain on the other, is sharply reflected in Germany by the clear-cut endeavor on the part of the German Communist Party to force the social democrats into a merger that would be controlled by the Communists.

In the end, when Germany's four zones were once again united, it is felt by certain

diplomatic observers that should this tactic succeed, the Communist-controlled group would be the majority party in Germany.

Thus, according to these observers, one of the continent's two most powerful countries, the future Germany, might be communized, parallel to the slowly increasing Communist influence in France. Europe itself would then be almost entirely dominated by the form of government considered democratic in Moscow but not in London and Washington.

Until 6 months ago the Soviet administrators in Germany seemed firmly to be following the terms of the Potsdam Agreement. However, since then it is believed they have tended to deviate increasingly, taking arbitrary economic decisions, jailing people for questionable political reasons, and powerfully working for the merger of the German Communists and Social Democrats.

And on March 19, Kathleen McLaughlin cabled the New York Times from Berlin:

Communists Revive Concentration Camps for Dissenters to Proposed Merger of Social Democrats and Communists in Germany

Contrary to the pledges of political freedom given in the Potsdam agreement, Soviet military government authorities have reactivated the Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen concentration camps and are detaining in them dissenters from the merger of Communist and Social Democratic Parties. Testimony to this effect is extensive in an allied document which will soon be submitted for discussion of the four occupying powers and possible adjustment.

Sworn statements of German civilians who have been detained assert that their only offense was active opposition to the proposed merger . . . some of the individuals who were inmates there during the war for anti-Nazi activities are again behind

the same walls for anti-Communist speeches and sentiment, according to these statements. * * *

The recent statement by Wilhelm Pieck, leader of the Communist Party in the Soviet sector of Berlin, emphasized the urgency of the March 31 deadline, set for a Social Democrat plebiscite for a merger with the Communists. In an interview with the German press he was quoted as having said, "The new party desires to create such conditions that the occupation will not be necessary."

Russia's Policy of Living Off Land Hastens Famine

Certainly the iron wall which Russia has erected around the Eurasian continent, within which the nitrate deposits and the agricultural areas of Germany have been imprisoned, make the threat of famine all the more grim in the years immediately ahead. With Russia stripping the countries under her control, pillaging and living off the land, and unable herself to meet her own food requirements, the prospect of famine becomes increasingly inevitable.

Destroying German Industry Forces Poverty on Half Population

A second policy which is certain to aggravate the present calamitous conditions of central Europe lies in the Morgenthau proposals for the deindustrialization of Germany.

I wish to reemphasize at this point my hearty concurrence with the proposals to liquidate Germany's basic war-making industrial plants. But this is a wholly different thing from the Morgenthau proposal permanently to destroy the industrial life of Germany upon which peace depends.

No one in the Morgenthau clique seems to have been remotely conscious of the

fact that there was any relationship between Germany's industrial and agricultural economy.

Urban Unemployment Destroys Market for Agriculture

More than half the total population of Germany lives in towns, and the urban population depends for its food on the agrarian population. In return, it supplied agricultural producers with the products and services of industry which are now no longer available. Nowhere in the world, not even in Russia, will farmers voluntarily produce for city dwellers without some return for the product of their labors. This winter it has been possible for the urban and rural populations to scrape the bottom of the barrel of reserves, through a process of exchange in which the urban people illegally bartered their second-hand personal possessions for such foodstuffs as the peasants were willing or able to part with.

Agriculture Suffers With Stoppage of Farm Machinery Manufacture

Mr. Morgenthau has hidden the basic design of his plan behind the constantly reiterated statement that he intends to increase German agricultural production. But the plain fact of the matter is that the prewar intensity of German agricultural production was extremely high, and was exceeded only by that of Holland and Belgium. Furthermore, it was possible to attain this level only because German agriculture received a steady supply of a large percentage of the industrial goods produced. Present German industrial production is less than enough to cover one-quarter of the total demands of German agriculture for the

product of industry. Even if it reached the peak allowed by the Potsdam declaration, the agricultural sector of the German economy could receive no more than half its minimum requirements, because so great a part of the total industrial output would go to other sectors of the economy, to export, and to reparations.

The highly mechanized basis of a large part of German agriculture is illustrated by the following data on agricultural machines in use in Germany in 1933: 1,008,260 electromotors, 80,010 heavy and light oil motors, 1,393 steam-power ploughs, 23,900 heavy and light tractors, 667,692 sowing machines, 153,665 fertilizer-strewing machines, 949,845 mowing machines, 343,720 potato-harvesting machines, 973,376 threshing machines, 174,443 straw-binding and pressing machines, 1,772,249 straw-cutting machines, 447,700 sawing machines, 11,865 milling machines, 1,375,396 milk centrifuges.

All Continent Crushed With Break-Down of Exchange Between Countries

These figures clearly demonstrate that German agriculture cannot continue to function at anywhere near the prewar level without a very high operating level of German industry.

Not only will our deindustrialization policy intensify the spread of famine conditions in Germany, but it will also make increasingly difficult the conditions in other countries in central Europe. Such nations as Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Austria, so long as they had independent national sovereignty, could protect their agrarian economy against the excessive demands of industrial powers by controlling the

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exchange of agricultural for industrial goods. Parity for the peasant was maintained at least partially by the exercise of the national sovereignty.

In a typical prewar year, 1928, Germany exported nearly 200,000,000 marks worth of goods, mostly industrial, and imported about 150,000,000 marks worth of goods, mostly agricultural. The following is a statement of this exchange in terms of percentage of total exports and imports between Germany and the countries to which I have referred:

	1928	
	Exports to Germany	Imports from Germany
Austria.....	13.4	19.3
Hungary.....	11.7	19.5
Czechoslovakia.....	26.7	28.6
Rumania.....	27.3	20.8
Yugoslavia.....	12.1	13.6

Peasants in Europe Worse Off Today Than Under Hitler

When Nazi imperialism engulfed these countries conditions of exchange for the peasants deteriorated rapidly. They were forced to supply more and more agricultural produce for less and less industrial goods, a process which was manipulated by the Nazis by means of price policies, special barter deals, and so forth. But now the position of the peasants in central and southeastern Europe is rapidly becoming worse. The new totalitarian overlord just has nothing to offer in return for requisitioned farm produce. These peasant peoples will be forced to continue producing for next to nothing while the Russian armies and bureaucracies live off the country. I find no mention in Mr. Morgenthau's book of any economic exchange process as a substi-

tute for the former exchange relationship between town and country populations.

What is happening in Germany and all over eastern Europe as a result of these Morgenthau policies is the decay and large-scale destruction of the peasants themselves, as a productive class.

Bitter Hatred for America Will Burn in Europe's Heart

The effect this will have on the food situation in Europe leaves nothing to the imagination. The continued destruction of the German economy, of the German peasant class, and the repudiation of our own promises to the German people by our refusal to prevent mass starvation, will make us the most hated nation, not only in Germany, but among all the other European countries who are subjected to similar conditions as a result of our own blind and vengeful policy.

On March 2, the New York Times carried a grim story cabled from Berlin quoting Lt. Col. Stanley Andrews, of the Food and Agriculture Division of the Office of Military Government of the United States, to the effect that even if we managed to sustain a normal consumer ration of 1,550 calories daily until May it would be necessary at that time to cut the ration in that zone until harvest time in early autumn. Colonel Andrews also went on to say, concerning the German people:

Andres, of United States Military Government, Eulogizes Farmers of Germany and Accuses America of Breaking Her Agreement

Their position is that they might as well be practical about Germany's position at the foot of the food scale. They realize that a

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world food shortage exists, and in effect have said to us, "We might as well take our licking now and have it over as soon as possible, if that is what is going to happen."

You see, we sat down with these German administrators of ours away last October and planned this food situation out. We said to them, "If you will see to it that the farmers bring in their grain and their meat and their dairy products we will guarantee you that we will maintain a 1,550-calorie nutrition scale."

The farmers have performed handsomely at great cost to themselves. They have delivered to us at this time more wheat and other grain than they turned over under the Nazi regime. They have brought in their meat, and we now have plenty of meat in this area, with moderate slaughtering to maintain our ration standard.

They have brought in their milk under tremendous handicaps—with their trucks breaking down, their horses unshod, and no horseshoes obtainable to equip them.

They have farmed their land with hoes and rakes and the help of the few tractors still operating, working on a pooling basis.

It is going to be pretty embarrassing for us when we have to go to these Germans and say, "Well, boys, you have done a fine job. You have kept your part of the bargain. Sorry, but we can't keep ours."

America Committed to Extension of Slave Labor at Yalta and Potsdam

A third policy to which America has been committed behind her back and against her will is that which not only violates our American principles and Christian conscience but our basic instincts to preserve human dignity. It has now been revealed that at Yalta and at Potsdam America was committed either tacitly or deliberately to the revival and extension of slave labor. If there is one thing calculated to intensify

the food famine threatening Europe and the world and to overtax our efforts to avert it, it is the fact that at this very moment millions of German men have been torn from their families and their labor and shipped in involuntary servitude into Siberia and to all points east. How Mr. Morgenthau expects the German population to support itself, not only without fertilizer, seed, and modern agricultural equipment, not only without the very earth needed for cultivation, but without even manpower with which to do the work, is another problem not touched on in his book. The Central European Observer, a Czechoslovak magazine published in London, states in its June 29, 1945, issue, in an informative article titled "Russia and Her German Prisoners":

Russia Holds Five Million German Prisoners

German prisoners in Russian hands are estimated to number from four to five million. When Berlin and Breslau surrendered, the long, grey-green columns were marched east, downcast and fearful. * * *

When the columns of prisoners were heading east from Berlin, they were marched toward huge depots near Leningrad, Moscow, Minsk, Stalingrad, Kiev, Kharkov, and Sevastopol. All fit men had to march some 22 miles a day. Those physically handicapped went in handcarts or carts pulled by spare beasts.

There were about 1,000,000 exceptions to this rule. They comprised elderly Volksturm, combatant women, and the wounded. They were segregated in eastern Germany, in Upper Silesia, round Breslau, and in Poland. At the bases the men were divided into categories A, B, and C.

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Class A German Criminals Await Trial in Russia

In category A are war criminals, men who have directed crimes against Russia or the Allies, who have been responsible for shooting, for ill-treatment of conquered people or slave labor. They are held as individual war criminals.

Those responsible for atrocities in villages are removed to the spot of the crime. They will be tried as soon as the legal process is agreed upon by the Allies. * * *

Class B German Criminals Will Rebuild Russia

In category B come the servants and instruments of the greater criminals, who destroyed Russian factories, villages, communal institutions, etc. They will be made to rebuild the Russian towns and villages which they destroyed. They will not return home until the work is completed, though as a general rule they will be set tasks that can be carried out within 2 to 3 years.

The Russians do not intend to rush things. A diplomatic newsletter published an interesting report about the small town L. in the Ukraine, where a Waffen SS unit was employed to reconstruct a metal factory destroyed by the same "heroes" about 2½ years ago. They had their own ideas of sabotaging work. In the morning one shovel of cement was put to the left and in the evening the same one was returned to the right. The Soviet officer in charge did not intervene.

"According to our carefully prepared plan," he explained, "the work could well be completed in 27 months' time. Should our Teutonic friends need 72 months, all right, they will not return home until the job is done, whether it takes 27, 72, or even 100 months. No doubt, one day they will realize this themselves."

Germany Cannot Build a Stable Economy Without Her Manpower

Mr. President, I submit that if the victor powers in this war are sincerely concerned about the food problems confronting the world, to say nothing of their being concerned with their own honor and integrity, the sooner this mass crime against the civilized world is repudiated, the sooner will the grim threat of famine, revenge and enslavement be removed from our midst.

Fiendish Mass Deportations Make Charnel House of Europe

A fourth problem, which is inseparably intertwined with the three I have mentioned, now lays the ghastly consequences of Mr. Morgenthau's policies squarely on the conscience of the world. I speak in bitter protest of the fiendish mass deportations which are making a charnel house of central and eastern Europe, and which are being carried on in another name, namely, denazification, in every country of the world.

Anti-Nazi Hans Walz Interned at Direction of American Frank Coe

The lesser aspects of the cruelty and persecution now being carried out by this same Morgenthau-indoctrinated group of fanatics are revealed in the fact that under the guise of denazification even the most violently anti-Nazi Germans are being intimidated and persecuted throughout Europe, from Sweden to Spain. At this moment one of the principal aides of Dr. Robert Bosch, a Mr. Hans Walz, one of the most violent anti-Nazis known to the Allies, continues his forced internment at the direction of Mr. Morgenthau's henchmen in the Treasury Department, particularly Mr. Frank Coe,

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head of the Monetary Research Division. I use Mr. Hans Walz merely as an example of well-known courageous anti-Nazis whose persecutions just do not make sense.

Enskilda Bank of Sweden Who Helped Underground now Black-Listed

As a further illustration of this fanatical injustice, the German Bosch Co. in Stuttgart, which owned a considerable share of the American Bosch Co., carried on its international banking transactions through the Enskilda Bank of Stockholm, Sweden. The two owners of this bank, two brothers by the name of Wallenberg, time and again, at grave risk to their own personal safety, served as intermediaries between the German underground and the Allied government.

At this moment the Enskilda Bank in Stockholm remains blacklisted, with its funds frozen in this country through the dictates of Mr. Frank Coe, acting as a mouthpiece for Mr. Morgenthau's cohorts.

All over Europe and South America, and in the United States as well, the same group continues its fanatical persecution and intimidation of the German people, even the most violently anti-Nazi, with such abandon that across the world a new wave of anti-Semitism is rising.

United States Threw Hundreds of South Americans Behind Barbed Wire With- out Trial

Mr. President, if there be one Senator on this floor, just one, who doubts the statement I am making, all he has to do is to contact the Department of State, and there note the terrible crucifixion of those hundreds of South American citizens who, without a trial anywhere, with-

out a hearing anywhere, were brought to the United States of America and placed behind wire in Texas and at Bismarck, N. Dak., and kept there for a period of 4 years, I repeat, without a trial or a hearing anywhere. That is done in great America, the great liberty-loving country of which we boast! I commend Attorney General Tom Clark, who when he came to understand the situation, when a committee of ambassadors from South America waited on him, assisted those citizens of South American countries who still today would be behind the barbed wire in Texas and in the State of North Dakota if he had not helped.

The distinguished senior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. SHIPSTEAD] has asked whether they were civilians, and I say they were civilians, some of them born in Guatemala, some born in others of the countries to the south of us, some of them who had never been in Germany in their lives, torn away from their wives and from their children, brought to the United States by the Americans, and placed behind wire, and kept there for a period of 4 years, some of them without a trial or a hearing anywhere. Then we hear our State Department talking about the good-neighbor policy!

New Wave of Anti-Semitism Arises

I repeat, Mr. President, all over Europe and South America, and in the United States as well, the same group continues its fanatical persecution and intimidation of the German people, even the most violently anti-Nazi, with such abandon that across the world a new wave of anti-Semitism is rising.

One aspect of this is found right in our own midst, where at this very moment

over 30,000,000 patriotic Americans of German extraction not only continue to be intimidated lest they cry out in bitter protest, but they continue to be robbed of their own constitutional rights by the continued application of totalitarian directives prohibiting them the use of mail and packet service through which they might express their own deep personal anxiety and concern for their families and friends. This is only the lesser aspect of this diabolic program of vengeance which led a former member of Mr. Robert Murphy's staff to write from Berlin:

American in Berlin Writes of Our "Revenge for Sake of Revenge" Policy

I have been working on economic and financial policy with Murphy's office. Back in the days of London and Versailles, we concerned ourselves with occupation policies, which meant that most of our time was spent trying to offset the "eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth" school of Morgenthau. At least that was my own personal feeling. It could be expressed in other more general terms, such as our long-term interests in Europe and Germany, but actually it came down to an attempt to curb a fierce urging toward revenge just for the sake of revenge. I wouldn't say that the revenge school gave no thought to the future. Actually, I think it has, and has welcomed the prospect of wiping out western European institutions and patterns of society in this part of the world.

Forced Deportation of Millions Means Heart-Breaking Misery for Even Women and Children

While America sits in judgment against men responsible for enforced deportations of nationals of non-German races, we have accepted an arrangement in regard to eastern Germany which has led

to the forced deportation from their homes of millions of Germans, or German-speaking persons, amongst them a large proportion of children. Despite the fact that the Potsdam declaration declares that the evacuation of Germans from what has suddenly, by unilateral decision of one ally, become Poland, as well as from Czechoslovakia and other eastern countries, despite the fact that the Potsdam declaration clearly states that this must be halted until it can be carried out in "an orderly and humane manner," the deportations have gone ahead until, according to the report of General Eisenhower himself some time ago, the American zone had already then had to take in half a million of these people. They are arriving penniless, and without more worldly goods than can be carried in a rucksack. They are moving into a country whose war destruction is incomprehensible to those who have not seen its completely shattered cities and communications. Before their arrival there was a drastic insufficiency of dwellings for the concentrated population of what remains of Germany. Millions of persons already have only cellar holes and bomb shelters in which to live, or partly bombed apartments without windows, or single rooms in villas where whole families must share a few cubic feet of space in houses inhabited by four or five times the number of persons for which they were designed.

Not all these refugees, or evacuees, arrive, of course, at all. Thousands of them perish on the trek from Silesia or Bohemia. Those who arrive are without ration cards, and already in an advanced state of hunger or actual starvation.

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Conspiracy of Silence Keeps Americans in Ignorance of Truth

Conditions in the Russian zone have been described in an official report from the German Central Administration for Health, submitted to the Berlin Kommandature. This report was made in November of 1945, and is a confidential document. It seems to me that it is high time the American people received some of this so-called confidential material. For history will not judge merely the governments or military authorities of the Allied countries. History will judge the countries themselves; history will judge the people of those countries. And history will certainly judge the most august representative body of the richest of those countries—the United States of America. We cannot plead, as Germans may plead, that we could do nothing about it; that any criticism or protest would land us in concentration camps, or even possibly before a firing squad, or on the gallows. We cannot argue that the Government is "they," while the people and the Senate are something apart from the Government. It is true that we are not well informed. It is true that there seems to be almost a conspiracy of silence in the press regarding what is going on in a country for which we have taken, together with our allies, full responsibility and authority. It is true that the administration shows the greatest reluctance to place before the representatives of the Members of the Senate the true facts about conditions for which we must eventually share responsibility. Nevertheless, without encouragement to access, sufficient facts are available to those determined to find them.

Report of German Health Administration Pictures Return to Black Death of Middle Ages

The report made by the German Central Administration for Health, at the beginning of this winter, regarding conditions in the Russian zone, must be accepted as truthful and not exaggerated. The agency reporting is a German agency, but it was created by the Russian occupying authorities. The conditions of administration are, therefore, obviously not such as to encourage any exaggeration regarding conditions, and, indeed, in the course of the report, the German health administration thanks the occupying authorities for such aid as they have been able to muster. Nevertheless, the picture is one which bears comparison with the famous black death of the Middle Ages, which left but a remnant of the population of central Europe, and left social consequences which can be traced to this very day. The report is too long to be quoted in full, but I read the following excerpts, which are in nowise altered or mitigated by any other facts appearing in the report:

Hunger Stupefies Minds of People, and Only Animal Urges Remain

The people hunger. They hold only the immediate present responsible for their condition. They are without the energy to trace the links of causes. They have even forgotten Hitler. Beyond the immediate present their power to reproduce even memory does not reach. There is growing, as though by psychological compulsion, a mass hysteria, with a thousand different symptoms of drug addiction, drunkenness, perversities, sadism, murder, infantilism * * * the situation is reaching a generally psychopathological

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state, through chronic hunger. We are seeing aberrations such as were previously known only among stranded and starving sailors in lifeboats, or thirsting persons forgotten by caravans in desert sands. It is increasingly impossible to discover in the masses of the people opinions. They have only animal urges.

Skeleton Bodies Shake With Palsy

The explanation of this mass phenomenon, this mental and spiritual paralysis, is physical. They are emaciated to the bone. Their clothes hang loose on their bodies, the lower extremities are like the bones of a skeleton, their hands shake as though with palsy, the muscles of the arms are withered, the skin lies in folds, and is without elasticity, the joints spring out as though broken.

Infant Mortality in Germany Has Reached 90 Percent

The weight of the women of average height and build has fallen way below 110 pounds. Often women of child-bearing age weigh no more than 65 pounds. The number of still-born children is approaching the number of those born alive, and an increasing proportion of these die in a few days. Even if they come into the world of normal weight, they start immediately to lose weight and die shortly. Very often the mothers cannot stand the loss of blood in childbirth, and perish. Infant mortality has reached the horrifying height of 90 percent.

Following is an account of conditions that existed between Silesia and Berlin, which are described in an eye-witness account written by Countess Helmuth von Moitke at the beginning of the winter:

Eyewitness Crys Out Against Gruesome Suffering of Aged, Women, and Children Forced to Evacuate Homes

Since obviously there is no hope of changing the decision of the Allies, so fateful to

large regions of central Europe, which condemns all Germans east of the Oder-Neisse line and the German minorities in Czechoslovakia and Hungary, to be evacuated, care should at least be taken that this movement of millions of human beings should take place along the lines laid down by the Allies at Potsdam.

The whole world knows that these principles of evacuation have so far not been observed, as I found in Berlin, Frankfurt a. M., and Switzerland, on my journeys in August and November, between Silesia and Berlin. I have seen with my own eyes the most gruesome sufferings of evacuees of which so many reports in allied hand speak. I have seen the evacuation camp at Cottbus, where there was no delousing establishment, where the sick lay on dirty straw next to the healthy, where all heating and cooking facilities were lacking, where the people would go to town in search of soup at noon-times and when they arrived found no food, then in desperation would wait for a transport train which under the most cruel conditions would take them to a region where there was likewise nothing to eat: Mecklenburg. The people—in the main women, children, and the aged—arrive in these camps already in a terrible condition. After an often long transport in Silesia during which they not only receive no nourishment whatsoever but may well be robbed of what they have, they must leave the train 15 kilometers before the frontier and go on foot driven along by Polish militia. At last completely exhausted and stripped of their possessions they get across the frontier hoping that now their trials are at an end. And then their fate only becomes all the more terrible.

In the December issue of the *Nineteenth Century and After*, published in Britain, appears the second of two articles by F. A. Voigt, for many years Berlin correspondent of the *Manchester*

Guardian, and now editor of this monthly magazine. He writes:

Over 12,500,000 Forced Migrants Arrived Destitute in Russian Zone With No Hope of Relief From Horrors

Marshal Zhukov has established a central office for dealing with the Germans who are being transferred in accordance with the agreement issued at Potsdam on August 2, 1945. According to a statement made by this Office on October 9, 8,000,000 of these "Germans" (that is to say, Sudetenlanders, Danzigers, Germans proper, and people of the Germanic diaspora) have arrived in the Russian zone of occupation from Poland and Czechoslovakia. According to the same statement, a further 4,500,000 are still expected—1,530,000 from Poland, 2,250,000 from Czechoslovakia and 500,000 from Hungary.

If we accept this statement we must assume that the Russian zone will have received an immigration of 12,500,000. As the normal population of this zone is about 18,000,000, the new arrivals would increase that population by 67 percent, were they to remain. . . .

According to a statement made by Field Marshal Montgomery on November 11, anything between 4,000,000 and 8,000,000 of these refugees could be expected from the Russian zone and from Poland Czechoslovakia as the British share under the Potsdam agreement. . . .

These figures, from authoritative Russian and British sources, indicate the size of the forced migration which has begun in eastern and central Europe. The migrants—nearly all of them women, children, old men, and such men of middle age or youth as are wounded or unfit—arrive in a state of complete destitution, usually exhausted by hunger and many days or even weeks of wandering, and often stricken by disease, to swell a population which already suffers from overcrowding and is, in most of the larger

towns at least, itself underfed and almost destitute. * * * Competent observers seem to agree that the catastrophe must grow much worse in the winter which has now begun, and that many, very many, of the small children and of the old and ailing will have perished before the spring. * * *

The figures we have quoted show, although imperfectly, the vastness of the catastrophe.

In the November issue of the same magazine Mr. Voigt had written in an article entitled "Orderly and Humane":

Seventeen Eyewitnesses Testify to Inhuman Treatment of Germans by Allies

We have in our possession, 17 statements by eyewitnesses of what happened in Danzig after the Russians took the city, firsthand and detailed reports by two British officers, one of them a fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons (Edinburgh), a detailed report by a British officer who made a tour of inquiry in the Sudetenland during the month of September, and numerous reports by clergy, doctors, and others who witnessed the flight of men, women, and children from the territories assigned to Poland and from the Sudetenland.

The particular agreement * * * that the transfers * * * should be effected in an orderly and humane manner has not been carried out. * * *

German Children Born East of Elbe River Will Die

In Mecklenburg and Brandenburg most of the small children are dying; some competent observers hold that no German children born during the present year east of the River Elbe can possibly survive, and that of all children now under 3 years old only about one-half will survive. * * * Dead children are thrown out of the trains. In Magdeburg, Prenzlau, and Oranienburg there is so much typhoid that the towns have been closed to newcomers.

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Millions of Germans, Danzigers, and Sudetenlanders are on the move. Groups of 1,000 to 5,000 will take the road, trek hundreds of miles, and lose half their numbers by death through disease or exhaustion. Roadsides are dotted with graves. Children have arrived in Berlin looking like the emaciated creatures shown in the pictures of Belsen.

Three Hundred and Twenty-five Patients and Orphans Moved From Danzig to Berlin With Twenty Potatoes and Two Slices of Bread—Most Die

One train, which arrived in Berlin on August 31, started from Danzig on the 24th with 325 patients and orphans from the Marien Hospital and the orphanage in the Weidliergasse. They were packed into five cattle trucks, with nothing to cover the floors—not even straw. There were no doctors, nurses, or medical supplies. The only food provided when the journey began was 20 potatoes and 2 slices of bread for each orphan. The patients had nothing, but the train stopped from time to time so that those of the passengers who were fit enough could forage. Some of the villages through which they passed were completely deserted—the crops had not been gathered and the cherries had dried on the trees.

Between 6 and 10 of the patients in each truck died during the journey. The bodies were simply thrown out of the train. When the train arrived in Berlin 65 of the patients and orphans were removed to the Robert Koch Hospital, where 9 of them died. We have no information as to what happened to the rest.

Mr. President, these conditions have been only aggravated as the winter has progressed.

I wish to quote from a letter written by an American scientist in Berlin as recently as February 2, 1946 in which he says:

American Scientist Confirms Pitiful Plight of People

You cannot imagine what it means to live in unheated cellars, open caves, half-broken down houses, and still worse, there is a terrible lack of food and medicaments. Infant mortality has reached a degree of 90 percent. Hundreds of mothers, little children, old men and women, unwashed, without food and in rags, are camping on the highway and railway stations, without a roof.

The number of deserters in the Red army is incredibly high. These deserters have become marauders * * * rape, pillage, looting, and murder are daily occurrences. Eastern Germany is ravaged by epidemics. The agrarian reform which seems to be desirable from a theoretical point of view, is disastrous because of the methods applied.

Forces of Anarchy Loosed by Potsdam Carving of Germany

In the Polish zone matters are described by competent and unimpeachable authorities as bordering on complete chaos. Because of our agreement, indeed because of our insistence, on the carving up of Germany, which was consummated at Potsdam, we have turned loose such forces of anarchy, cruelty, and degradation as the world has never seen before. Millions of Germans have been uprooted from ancestral soil, from roots that go back 1,000 years, and forced into a mass migration under conditions of indescribable and wanton cruelty unknown to civilized nations.

Our Policy Toward Poland Has Bred Hungry and Desperate Men Driven to Pillage, Murder, Rape

In describing the conditions in the Polish zone one must be very careful to point out that in this instance our decisions at Potsdam only compounded the

crimes which we committed against Poland at Tehran and Yalta. Poland has been stabbed in the back not only by Germany, but by Russia, England, and the United States as well. With our connivance and consent the Polish people have been torn away from every principle of security and decency and subjected to the frightful and savage tyranny of an international conspiracy that has announced itself now, both in word and deed, as a sworn enemy of everything Christian civilization holds sacred. Pandemonium reigns in Poland. There is no security left for man or beast. Hordes of desperate and hungry men swarm over the countryside. The treacherous Warsaw government, spawned in Moscow, is dividing and liquidating Poland in order to conquer the Polish people. Murder, looting and rape are the order of the day.

Butchered Poland Is Bleeding

Since the Poles themselves are now subjected to a tyranny as bad as, if not worse than, anything they suffered under the Nazis, and since they have been forced to forage for themselves in new territory to the west in compensation for the territory torn from them in the east, it is not difficult to conceive of the horrible fate now being visited on the guilty and innocent alike among the Germans whom the Poles have been ordered to evacuate from their newly acquired territorial compensation. Certainly Russian-inspired and Russian-directed and Russian-financed propaganda is largely responsible for the terrible vengeance being wreaked on those whom we promised orderly and humane treatment.

There recently appeared, in the *Welt Woche*, published in Zurich, Switzerland, the first detailed account I have seen of the fate of the Germans in the Polish zone. I must point out that the publication has a splendid anti-Fascist record, has not been unfriendly to Poland, and is more pro-Russian than most Swiss publications. Its reporter writes:

**No Law or Justice in Poland, Where
Germans Know Freedom Is Dead**

For the Germans in this zone the lack of security and law is as bitter as the hunger. There is no authority to which a peasant assailed by plunderers can apply, no police to protect him, no judge to enforce the law. Everybody can expect at every hour brutal attacks on his property and life with no possibility of defense. A particularly dark point in this picture is the fact that Germans who lost their closest relatives in the resistance against Hitler, and Jews who were able to hide in quiet countrysides are murdered at the very moment when they expected liberation. Sickness and disease must be added. The further one travels eastward from Berlin the more entrances to villages bear large posters with the word "typhus" in Latin and Cyrillic letters. In St. ——— 80 persons out of a population of 400 are sick with typhus. No medicaments in the village. No physician on this side of the Oder. The secretary of the "Caritas" in St. ——— declares that his medicines are getting scarce. "Since we are isolated through the epidemic, nobody wants to bring us food. We are unable to help the sick. All we can do is isolate them." The solution is often that infected villages are, as in the Middle Ages, where the Black Death was raging, completely isolated.

**Moral Integrity of Anti-Fascist World
Hanged on Cross—Christ Is Crucified
Again**

But doubtless other authorities, too, will have to consider the situation in the land

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of death, as soon as more such reports as this one stir the attention of the world. For there is more at stake than merely the life of a few million Germans. The moral integrity and power of the anti-Fascist world movement is at stake.

**Clergy in French Zone Beg for Bread
and Peace**

Mr. President, the conditions that have existed in the French zone also defy adequate description. On September 21 the Catholic and Protestant clergy of Loer-rach sent a petition to the French military government which has just come into my hands, and from which I quote:

In the name of Christianity, in the name of humanity, in the name of the peace aims for which the victorious powers went to war, conscious of their responsibility before God and before their people for the peace, the signatories refer, at this moment of greatest misery and most important decisions to the fateful consequences which the continuation of present methods of occupation, of starvation, the toleration of looting, the requisitioning of foodstuffs, will have for our people and for France.

Fully conscious of the situation and of the tone of the population the ministers of Loer-rach urgently beg the French occupational authorities for moderation, for clemency, for aid; they beg for bread and peace for the starving population.

On October 12, United States Army officials stopped turning over German prisoners to the French after the International Red Cross charged the French with failing to provide sufficient food for German prisoners in French camps. The newspaper *Figaro* on September 22 quoted Gen. Louis Buisson, Director of the War Prisons, as admitting that food rations were "just enough to allow a

man to lie down, not move, and not die too quickly."

Capehart Disclosed French Zone Had Starvation Diet of 1,100 Calories Per Day

Recently the Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART] stated on the Senate floor that—

The French Government has been compelled to reduce the bread ration in France for its own people. And now, at this very moment, the French Government is in Washington pleading with this administration to ship enough extra food into the French occupation zone to prevent a catastrophic collapse, admitting that the French authorities have not been able to maintain a ration of 1,100 calories in the French zone since they took over its administration.

At this point I want to read into the RECORD a letter written by an American captain in our zone of occupation on February 7, 1946. This American captain writes:

French Treatment of German Prisoners Results in Extermination

I am enclosing one of the lists of hospitalized German prisoners of war, who had been turned over to the French in excellent condition, and who were returned to the Americans for hospitalization. This does not include those who died.

Our Government is fully aware of this mass extermination and evidently sanctions it for at present 70,000 more American captured prisoners are being turned over to the French.

I have seen French camps for prisoners in the vicinity of Marseille, France, and I know that filth, starvation and abuse are the lot of Germans who are unfortunate enough to fall into their hands.

I cannot condone the actions of our country in this matter and would like to see this blot removed and removed quickly.

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I am not signing this letter for fear of the consequences.

Again I remind you, Mr. President, that this document that I hold in my hand is an official document, containing the roll of German POW's evacuated to the American zone for hospitalization and disposition on the 31st of January 1946, the great majority of whom, as stated under the diagnosis, are suffering from malnutrition or starvation.

Mr. President, in spite of the certain fate awaiting German prisoners of war in French hands, this Government continues to be a party to sentencing German prisoners of war to starvation in continued violation of the Articles of War of the Geneva Convention.

On Monday, March 25, the Progressive revealed that:

United States Hands German Prisoners to France for Slave Labor

France requires another 500,000 German slave laborers and expects to receive them from the United States, General Buisson asserted last week. At present 750,000 former Wehrmacht soldiers, three-fourths of them captured by the United States Army, are toiling in France. Paid 10 to 13 francs a day, they are farmed out by the French Government for 90 to 120 francs a day. Following a scandal over malnutrition in French forced labor camps, the United States Army temporarily stopped delivery of prisoners, but it is again handing them over now at a rate of 100,000 a month.

In the British zone conditions have been terribly severe in spite of the fact that while the British are now on more meager rations than they were during the war, they have done everything in their power at least to postpone a catastrophe.

On February 25 the Manchester Guardian carried a special story from Buende in the British zone, from which I quote:

British Ration of One Potato and Two Slices of Bread Threatened

The mild winter has postponed but has not averted the food crisis in the British zone of Germany. It is now evident that unless increased supplies of grain can be sent here by the middle of March nothing can prevent real famine in the towns and industrial areas in April.

Potato stocks in the zone are all but exhausted and unless more grain arrives the April ration for ordinary German civilians will be only about one-third of their present ration of 1,550 calories daily.

To reduce the current ration by two-thirds, as the existing situation threatens, would mean that the German people would have to try to live on about two thin slices of bread and one potato a day with such other oddments as they could get.

On February 27, Field Marshal Montgomery admitted that on March 4 the rations in the British zone would be cut from 1,555 to 1,014 calories a day. The Field Marshal announced with regret that this reduction would have to be maintained until the next harvest.

On March 4, the British Government made that reduction official.

Ten Million Germans on Starvation Diet; British Warn

And on March 7, Lt. Gen. Brian Robertson, Deputy British Military Governor, warned that 10,000,000 Germans were on starvation rations now, and that widespread starvation threatened during the next 3 months.

It is not surprising, Mr. President, to read that food riots have broken out in Hamburg.

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Mr. President, as far as conditions in the American zone are concerned, the belated admission of Mr. J. B. Hutson, Under Secretary of Agriculture, and of Mr. Dean Acheson, Under Secretary of State, on February 3, and of President Truman on February 7, 1946, give the lie to all protestations to the contrary, that starvation does not stalk the American as well as the other zones of Germany and Europe.

The American press has recently carried several inspired stories to the effect that there is no starvation in the American zone, citing the findings of five Army boards of nutritional experts, along with Mrs. Roosevelt's 3-hour whirlwind observations made in Berlin. These stories, however, are nothing but the rankest kind of face-saving hypocrisies. For instance, so far as the five Army boards are concerned, on January 2, 1946, DANA, the official news agency of the American military government in Germany for the authorized German Press, issued the following statement in Frankfurt am Main:

In the entire American zone, in accordance with directives of the health division of the military government, weight controls of adults over 20 years of age will be made in order to examine the state of health of the German population. They will take place during the first week of each month and will be made by the health departments in towns with a population of over 100,000 people under direct supervision of the health officers of the military government.

The officials of the health department will pick up or select individual persons who accidentally pass public places, corners of streets, and are standing before shops. These individuals will be weighed with shoes and clothes, but without overcoats, handbags or other baggage. Average weights of age groups

between 20 and 30, 30 and 40, etc., will be calculated from these figures.

I ask, Mr. President, could anything be more unscientific or ridiculous?

And as for Mrs. Roosevelt's assertion that she could find no starvation in Germany, on February 25, following the report of the Emergency Economic Committee for Europe, which stated that 100,000,000 will be forced to live on a starvation diet, Mrs. Roosevelt wrote a column entitled: "Starving War-Torn Europe Dreads Spread of Disease."

More of this deliberately misleading propaganda is found in the New York Times story of February 1 from Frankfurt, which stated in part:

Daily Ration of Germans in American Zone Only 1,550 Calories, as Contrasted With 2,650 Calories Necessary to Maintain Health

In contrast to Senator KENNETH WHERRY's protests against starvation levels which he indicated he believed were being maintained in the United States zone, the Food and Agriculture Division reported that the amount of rationed food permitted had increased consistently in each succeeding ration period and that the normal consumer received 1,262 calories daily in the eighty-first period ended November 11.

The daily ration rose to 1,550 the first week of January, and recommendations are now pending that it be increased to 1,750. The Public Health officers of the military government, who submitted this proposal, further indicated that if the average weights of civilians dropped, it would be further increased to a minimum of 2,000 calories daily. The increase in the ration, however, caused an unduly rapid reduction of the indigenous resources and a corresponding increase in import requirements, the report added.

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Mr. President, the above statistics would prove that we have been imposing a starvation diet on the German people since the war ended. Up until November 11 the normal consumer received only 1,262 calories, and it was not until the first week in January that the official ration level was raised to 1,550 calories. What this policy has meant can only be understood in the light of what competent nutritional authorities state to be the minimum caloric level necessary to the maintenance of health. Just recently an intergovernmental body titled the Emergency Economic Committee for Europe, under the chairmanship of Philip Noel-Baker, of Great Britain, and including representatives from the United States, Belgium, Denmark, Greece, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway, and Turkey issued a formal report on the frightful conditions in Europe, stating:

As a guide to the possible nutritional and economic effects of the diet levels described in this review, it may be noted that a diet containing an average of about 2,650 calories per day, in addition to necessary quantities of other nutritional elements, has been recommended by the UNRRA Food Committee as the amount of food sufficient to maintain full health and efficiency in a population with a normal distribution according to sex, age, and occupation.

An average diet of around 2,000 calories has been generally recognized in military and civilian relief planning as a minimum level, below which there would be marked effects on ability to work and danger of the development of disease and unrest associated with food shortage.

Nutrition Experts Warn That Cuts in Ration Scale Will Mean Civil Unrest

Mr. President, as a matter of fact, the results of this starvation policy which we have forced on the German people were announced on February 24, when a committee of American, British, and French nutritional experts warned that malnutrition among the Germans might soon reach alarming proportions and that sudden drastic cuts in the ration scale "may be expected to be followed immediately by civil unrest." The Committee went on to state "It is imperative that every effort be made to prevent the lowering of existing scales."

More of this attempt to strangle the news of what this administration had committed the American people to is found in the following development. On February 2, immediately following attack made by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. WHERRY] on our starvation policy, a report came from Lieut. Gen. Lucius Clay's headquarters in Frankfurt, that there was no starvation in the American zone. Yet on March 20 the New York Times carried a story by C. L. Sulzberger which states in part:

United States Military in Germany Beg Washington for More Food as Cut in Calory Ration Imminent

There is only enough food in the United States Occupation zone in Germany to maintain and uniformly distribute the guaranteed minimum ration of 1,550 calories for six more days. . . . At this stage, unless a sudden change in the situation comes unexpectedly, the ration in the American zone in Germany will be forced down to 1,050 calories a day.

This is considered a virtual starvation diet by American experts who are fighting to get

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some commitments from Washington which could at least reduce the extent of the cut.

Originally when the present calory level was fixed the Germans, worried about possible starvation in May, suggested that it should be fixed lower than the 1,550 calory figure. However, General Clay promised them that the United States would make up the difference if production and reserves fell short, in order to maintain the pledged figure. He had been promised by Washington that sufficient imports would be sent. General Clay has now been let down by Washington, which is faced with a world-wide food crisis.

It is understood that General Clay dispatched Col. Hugh B. Hester to Washington last month to explain that the German food situation had deteriorated and to request food shipments.

United States Military Government officials are working to get a better deal from Washington. They argue that starvation may threaten under the present program; that even the planned level of recovery will be set back; that "if the United States wants to turn Europe to the left, this is the best way," and that it is unfair to let General Clay down in his promise to maintain the ration and make America appear not to keep its word.

General Clay a Victim of Administration Program of Mass Destruction

It is perfectly obvious, Mr. President, that General Clay himself has become a victim of these vicious policies for which the group within this administration who have been bent on the destruction of the German people are responsible.

Report of American Council of Volunteer Agencies for Foreign Service Suppressed by Administration

If these conditions which I have been describing are not grim realities why is it then that the report of the members

of the American Council of Volunteer Agencies for Foreign Service, continues to be suppressed by the State Department, by the War Department, and by the President's War Relief Control Board? I hold in my hand a copy of this report which was prepared following the return of an investigating committee, which the Allied Control Commission permitted to tour the western zones of Germany.

It is little wonder that this administration continues to suppress such reports. The whole ghastly story of the frightful consequences of the vicious Morgenthau plan which this report would expose would incriminate many of this administration's advisers and confidants as murderous peace criminals.

The tactics of the group which is responsible for suppressing this report are merely the extension of the slander and intimidation which have been so effectively used throughout this administration's reign to silence all criticism and opposition. I am certain that the only reason why the members of these various church and relief organizations do not expose this whole sordid tale of terror is merely because of their fear of retaliation which would negate whatever good they are now being permitted to do.

Experiment Proved Weight Lost Under 1,500 Calories Per Day Couldn't Be Regained Until Diet Increased to 4,000

The prospects for the future become ghastly indeed if such policies are continued for one moment longer. For instance, the University of Minnesota medical school has just completed an experi-

ment with 34 human guinea pigs who voluntarily submitted to a starvation diet of 1,500 calories daily over a period of 6 months. The most startling thing that was discovered as a result of the experiment was not the loss of weight or the loss of control of emotions or the loss of ability to think or to work, it was the fact that weight that had been lost could not be regained until the diet had been increased to 4,000 calories daily per person.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in my remarks the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service Report of Mission to Germany.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service Report of Mission to Germany

This mission was sent to Germany to study relief needs and to plan relief services in coordination with Military Government and indigenous agencies in Germany. After a preliminary meeting in Frankfurt on January 12 the remaining time up to January 30, 1946, was spent in visiting the American, British, and French zones of occupation. Permission to enter the Russian zone was not received. It has examined the relief needs of Germany in the light of the situation and experience in those other needy European countries in which American voluntary agencies are working. On the basis of conferences with representatives of Military Government, private welfare agencies, public welfare officers, workers agencies, and of direct observation among the population, we submit the following findings:

Critical Needs

Today there is a widespread suffering in Germany, above all in the large cities. Food is short, clothing supplies are exhausted. The inadequacy of fuel, housing, and medical supplies can be seen on every side.

Diet of Germans in American Zone Half the Calory Content of American Diet

Food: The average city office worker, the housewife, and the aged in the American zone is given a ration of 1,550 calories per day. Young children receive less, heavy workers more. This compares to an American citizen's daily average of about 3,200 calories.

To attempt to determine the minimum adequacy of food rationing on the sole basis of calories per day is impractical. However it was learned that in the American zone the daily calorie intake was stated as 1,980 during November 1945, which fell off to 1,830 during December 1945. Figures on this point were not available for January 1946. Included in these average estimates are, of course, many people who receive less than average. The mission learned from a military authority that in scattered localities the calorie intake amounts to only 900 calories a day. Obviously these bare statistics do not tell the real story of the hungry people we have seen, the aged and sick who were not getting enough to eat, the small children who need more than bread and potatoes for protective care.

Trend in Food Consumption Downward

Particular note was made of the present downward trend of the average daily intake of food. The upward trend for the autumn months shown by the figures of the American military is now being reversed. Potatoes which had been allocated during the fall for winter consumption accounted largely for the early rise. The downward trend results from the rapid exhaustion of potatoes as well as the grain stores.

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School Attendance Dropped 40 Percent in Bad Weather for Lack of Shoes

Clothing: New clothing is unobtainable. One is often misled by seeing people apparently well-clad. Many are wearing the only clothes they possess, having lost their entire wardrobes in the fires that followed the bombings or having given their spare clothing to fellow citizens who had lost everything. We learned that in the British zone three general levies of clothing had been carried out in order to get clothes for those who had none. Shoes are not to be had. There is a particularly acute shortage of children's shoes. One sees children with feet wrapped in rags. Oftentimes children cannot go to school because they do not have shoes or because the ones they do have are inadequate. In several instances we found that in bad weather attendance in schools dropped 40 percent because the children lacked suitable footwear. Materials for shoe repairs—leather, nails, tools—are almost completely unavailable.

People Crowded in Bomb Shelters and Average of Three to Room Not Uncommon

Housing and fuel: Housing conditions in all zones almost defy description. As one drives through miles and miles of rubble that was formerly houses and buildings, one wonders where the people are living. And then at night in the darkened streets one sees lights coming from ruins and cellars that one would not have thought inhabited. People are crowded together in the remaining quarters and they overflow into cellars and bomb shelters and into temporary barracks. In certain cities there is an average of three people per habitable room.

Millions Are Without Shelter

Literally millions of people are without homes or adequate shelter. The lack of building materials has made it impossible to rebuild or repair dwellings. The occupa-

tion forces necessarily have taken over sections of cities for their quarters. The scarcity is so great that in some of the cities the only heat available is in public warming rooms.

Women, Children, and Aged Refugees Arrive at Border Sick, Starving, and Without Shelter

Refugees: These are the five to ten million Germans who are being expelled from former German territories, or from territories formerly populated by Germans. These mingle with those Germans who were displaced during the war and have not yet been able to make their way home. The total number has not been determined.

By far the greatest number of the present evacuees and refugees are women, children, and old men. Many of the children are orphans. These people arrive at the border cities tired, hungry, with little or no luggage, undernourished, ill-clad, many of them sick. We have seen them spending the night in air-raid shelters or railroad stations, packed together with hardly enough room to sit down, with no care for the sick, no facilities to wash and often without food. They are shunted from one ruined city to another, sometimes for weeks, until they find relatives or friends, or are put in temporary quarters, or assigned to a room in a country village. We have seen them settled in barracks and in air-raid bunkers, six to ten in one small room. We have seen two hundred squeezed together in one large room of an abandoned department store, with each family trying vainly to maintain a little privacy. Many of these had been living under such conditions since last July. Some of the mothers had to keep their children in bed until they could fashion shoes for them out of cardboard and string. The wives and children of workers in Breslau share these quarters with old farmers from

East Prussia and Pomerania, whose only possessions are now the rags on their bodies. In the American zone alone, as many as two and a half million of these refugees may have to be cared for. They will become the responsibility of communities already lacking adequate shelter, food, clothing, and medicines. They will further disrupt the life of the smaller and comparatively intact communities all over Germany. These refugees will constitute as large a problem as were the millions of Hitler's displaced people in Germany, yet the possibility of taking them back where they belong will not exist. They will not only present a gigantic social problem, but also an obstacle to the moral recovery of the German people. Private and public relief working together can do no more than assist at the places of, and in the moments of greatest distress.

Over 25 Percent of Those Born Die Before They Reach One Year of Age

Infants and children: Infants and children of less than 1 year in age suffer more than any other age group. At least 25 percent of those born die before they reach 1 year of age. Poor housing, lack of heat, lack of sugar and milk, inadequate diet of mothers, lack of layettes and soap, and shortage of medical care, are responsible for this high death rate. Among older children there is a death rate more nearly normal, but malnourishment and even rickets are widespread.

Homeless Orphans From 10 to 16 Years Old Roam From City to City

Homeless children: Another urgent problem is the bands of homeless and orphaned children who roam from city to city searching for missing parents or relatives. The age range of these children is from 10-16 years. They have become so accustomed to this wandering existence that it would be difficult to keep them in any institution, if some were available.

Death Rate of Aged Double That of Normal Times

The aged and infirm: Old and sick people suffer especially from the privations of heat and food that now are common in every large city. Food rations are at best difficult to obtain for able-bodied people who are able to wait in line. The death rate among old people is believed to be double that of normal times in certain cities.

Separated families: The lack of information as to the whereabouts of members of their families is a source of great anxiety to hundreds of thousands of Germans. Some efforts are being made to trace missing people and to unite families, but they are not yet effective on a national scale.

GERMAN WELFARE ACTIVITIES

Private Agencies Doing Bulk of Rehabilitation Work

The provincial and municipal welfare agencies are functioning, but are handicapped by a shortage of experienced and vigorous personnel.

The great church relief agencies survived the persecutions of the Nazi regime and commenced operations in late summer of 1945. The Roman Catholic Caritas Verband, the Evangelical Hilfswerk (including the Evangelical Mission) are operating in all Germany and have so far borne the brunt of voluntary relief activity on the basis of millions of marks and substantial quantities of food and clothing collected inside the country. The Arbeiterwohlfahrt, which was dissolved in 1933, the German Red Cross, and other agencies are presently operating on the lower governmental levels, after various delays. These charitable agencies are cooperating closely with one another. They are making further collections of food, clothing, and money, but they have reached the end of their resources. Under the present con-

ditions their money is of little buying value. The private agencies enjoy the confidence of the public-welfare offices of both the civil and the military government, with which they have cooperated closely.

RECOMMENDED PROGRAM

Mission Recommends 2,000 Calories as Minimum Daily Ration

1. The Mission has been concerned primarily with the place of voluntary agencies in meeting the need for emergency relief. It properly recognizes, however, the responsibility of military government to meet basic needs in the zones of occupation. A minimum daily ration of 2,000 calories should be maintained to prevent deficiency diseases, and later starvation.

Humane Treatment of Refugees Demands Clothing, Supplemental Foods, and Medicines Be Granted

2. Military governments are also responsible, under the Potsdam agreement, for the humane treatment of the refugees who are arriving from the east and south. In view of the present conditions of life in Germany, and in recognition of the severe problems which are being added by the rapid influx of refugees, it is urged that immediate steps be taken to stock clothing, supplemental foods, and medicines to meet this emergency. It will also be necessary to promote the orderly integration of refugees into the life of the country.

American Volunteer Agencies Should Supplement Government Aid

3. Because the most efficient government aid cannot at this late date meet all the needs involved in this chaotic situation, and because Germans should know that they have the sympathetic interest of Americans of good will, the mission recommends that American voluntary agencies supplement the military government efforts by supplying the German

indigenous agencies with goods, especially the following:

For infants: Milk, sugar, layettes, soap, food for pregnant and nursing mothers.

For children: Milk, fats, shoes, soap.

For refugees: Clothing, supplemental food, medicines.

American Agencies Should Work Through German Agencies

4. In distributing goods from the United States the American agencies should work through established German agencies so as to encourage their development and to strengthen the more promising currents of new German life. To meet these special and shifting needs it is essential that the German voluntary agencies maintain their autonomy and flexibility of action.

Aid in Reconstruction of Youth and Improvement of Welfare Agencies Must Follow Emergency Help

5. After the present emergency is met, opportunity should be allowed for aid in the reconstruction of youth and the improvement of welfare services.

In conclusion, the mission recognizes the difficulties under which the military government must work in bringing order out of chaos. A country for years under the domination of totalitarian control, which sought to strangle individual thinking, initiative, and enterprise, presents unique problems which will not be solved without great effort. That these problems must be solved is as urgent as the desire of all men of good will to accomplish a world at peace.

Postal Services Must Be Opened So Germany May Know Freedom of Press Long Denied

The supply of food, clothing, and medicines to meet minimum requirement will not alone satisfy the problems of this defeated nation. They have been deprived for long years of uncensored communication with the outside world, freedom of expression in the press and

in publications. Soon they must learn and relearn the true meaning of freedom from totalitarian restrictions. It is hoped that in furtherance of this necessary objective a way will be found to open postal services between the American zone and the outside world.

We have entered into tentative agreements with representatives of the military governments of the American, British, and French zones to carry out the recommendation that relief be sent to Germany. These are appended to this report. All are subject to the approval of the American voluntary agencies. The American agreement is subject to approval by the War and State Departments and by the President's War Relief Control Board. The British and French agreements are subject to review by the commanding officers of these zones.

JOSEPH BUTTINGER,
International Rescue and Relief Committee.

JAMES H. HORAN,
War Relief Services, National Catholic Welfare Conferences.

JAMES FLINT,
Congregational Christian Service Committee.

ANTHONY LUCHER,
CIO War Relief Committee.

GILBERT F. WHITE,
A. F. S. C.

STEWART HERMAN,
World Council of Churches.

JAMES M. READ,
A. F. S. C.

BERLIN, January 30, 1946.

ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF GERMAN MISSION AGREEMENT WITH AMERICAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT

1. Personnel: Limit of eight persons, attached to AMG and maintained by it. No uniforms required. A chairman of this dele-

gation to be directly responsible to AMG—the others responsible to chairman.

2. Relief supplies: Limit of 2,000 tons per month for American zone; preferred items: milk, sugar, fats, medicines, soap, bedding, and children's shoes. Other food and clothing not excluded. Transport by Army; distribution by German welfare agencies on a representative basis.

Accepted by CRALOG, February 12, 1946.

Committee to secure State and War Departments approval and to prepare official release.

EDWARD O'CONNOR,
National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Mr. MUELLER,
Unitarian Service Committee.

JAMES G. VAIL,
A. F. S. C.

Dr. LESLIE MOSS,
Federal Council of Churches.

JOSEPH BYLER,
Mennonite Central Committee.

Mr. BECKER,
International Rescue and Relief Committee.

Father HOBAN,
Representing the Mission.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, the most terrible indictment of these consequences of the Morgenthau plan, which I have seen is contained in an article by Mr. Sylvester C. Michelfelder, head of the material aid division of the World Council of Churches who, after a recent trip through Germany, wrote:

Head of World Council of Churches Bows Head Before Swollen Faces, Distended Stomachs, Raped Girls; Before Malnutrition, Disease, and Despair

I am depressed. I have seen both the horrible destruction of war and the still more terrible after effects of postwar muddling.

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Passing through city after city in Germany one sees only rubble. Maimed bodies of hundreds of victims are buried beneath it. Somehow, you feel that these are the fortunate ones. The innocent children who sought shelter in the cellars are now dead, and the loving arms of devoted mothers may still encircle them in death. There, too, lie the mangled remains of the aged, the infirm, and the sick.

I am haunted by the faces of the men, women, and children who lie in crude wooden bunks filled with straw. They are the ones who arrive after being pushed out of the east into Berlin. They arrive daily on trains so crowded that women and children are hanging on rods between the boxcars. They huddle together to try to keep warm. Bands of irresponsible bandits in Russian or American uniforms pillage and rob the trains. The women and girls are violated in sight of everyone. They are stripped of their clothes.

In another part of this shelter I saw several rooms filled with nameless children from 3 to 5 years old. All were suffering from malnutrition and the after-effects of typhus. Swollen faces, distended stomachs, and spindly legs could be seen everywhere. Another room was filled with girls from 16 to 20 all of whom had been violated time and again, all of them suffering from disease and the effects of malnutrition and exposure.

I repeat, I am depressed. Never in my life have I felt so helpless. Never have I been brought face to face with such stupendous need.

Michelfelder Says Sadistic Spirit of Hitler Lives Again

Why can't Americans send relief to these helpless people? Why can't we use surplus blankets, drugs, trucks, bandages for these suffering masses? Has the sadistic spirit of Hitler and Himmler come over Hitler's conquerors?

You can read these words and do nothing. If, however, you are impressed and do not take opportunity for expression, you too may be overcome by a feeling of depression. Here is something you can do:

First of all bring all the influence of the Christian people to bear upon those in high positions to allow the churches in Germany to give relief. The Hilfswerk of the Evangelical Churches in Germany is well organized and ready to do its work but the committee needs help. They need transportation. They need trucks and bandages. They need clothes and bedding. These can be got ready for shipment. Ships should rush the goods to Bremen and Hamburg as quickly as possible.

Our Hands Are Now God's Hands—We Cannot Remain Idle Longer

Of course you must pray. But we must pray God to help these dying, suffering people through us. Our hands are now His hands.

Anarchy and War Will Arise From the Madhouse That Is Central Europe

Mr. President, the future is too horrible to contemplate if the present policies of revenge, hatred, and deliberate bungling and evasion are permitted to be continued. These official policies of the United States Government are fast turning the whole of Europe and a large part of Asia into a madhouse filled with wasted bodies, warped minds, and embittered spirits out of which nothing but anarchy and war can possibly arise.

There is such a thing as collective guilt. Those who sow to the wind reap the whirlwind; those who take the sword perish by the sword. Were the Allies, all of them, to be permeated exclusively with the spirit of Christ Himself, were they to rise above every temptation of hatred and revenge, were they to make

sacrifices for their late enemies beyond what can be hoped for from any but the saints, it would be impossible to prevent the terrible suffering which follows with just logic from the nature of the Nazi crimes themselves.

We Suffer Little Children to Come Unto Us for Such Is the Kingdom of Hell

Yet this very question of collective guilt which we are imposing as a policy on the helpless and innocent alike, demands of us a reconsideration of our own responsibilities. If we are to be honest with ourselves we must now admit that there is no question that the illimitable suffering, the frightful catastrophe which is overtaking the German people and enveloping in its black death those whom no human being dare judge, little children—yes, and children unborn—is not alone attributable to the poetic justice of war and defeat, but is to a vast extent the direct result of Allied policies of cruelty and revenge.

A Survivor of a Concentration Camp Implores That Justice Implies Help as Well as Punishment

The chief rabbi of Berlin, one of the few survivors of one of Hitler's concentration camps, who has recently been brought to this country, has been pleading for a humane approach to the frightful problems that have been created by Mr. Morgenthau and the Potsdam declaration. Very recently he wrote in a letter to a friend:

No crime, no wrong is ever committed only against a single individual; it is as well committed against oneself.

Where a crime has been committed there arises the task to reestablish law, to reconstruct the majesty of law before the eyes of the world. Law is only reestablished with

the punishment of the criminal and if the punishment corresponds to the gravity of his crime. Without the definite and certain punishment of every criminal there is no law, no justice, and no humanity.

However, the right to punish only becomes man if he is prepared to help. * * * To punish and to help belong together; only together do they represent justice.

Mr. President, is this administration even now prepared to help? It seems perfectly obvious that those who have been responsible for this tragedy are planning to swallow up this crisis in a far worse catastrophe.

Despite Warnings of Advisers, Administration Committed to Mass Starvation of Germans

For months on end this administration has been amply warned by scores of its own advisers and experts of the catastrophe that has been in the making. Yet with a human tragedy confronting them that defies human description, they are continuing the same mad policies which have forced our present predicament upon us.

This administration has been warned of the gravity of the situation in all occupied territories. Those responsible for our policies have been warned not to cut supplies or rations in those areas directly under the control of our military government. Yet we are now told that in spite of the fact that our primary responsibility is to the peoples of those defeated nations whom we have subjected to an American military government and to whom we owe a faithful discharge of the basic responsibilities of government, this administration is to cut even the present starvation diet to the level where rioting,

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bloodshed, and the complete collapse of our prestige and honor are guaranteed. This guarantees the loss of the peace.

World Council of Churches Says Situation Is Offense to Christian Conscience

On February 23 the provisional committee of the World Council of Churches released their resolutions that had been drawn up to deal with the terrible conditions in Europe, one of which states in part:

Whereas the Potsdam Conference agreed that any transfer of populations should be effected in an orderly and humane manner; and

Whereas these proposals of the Potsdam Conference have not been carried out, but on the contrary, the transfers of populations have brought great hardship, distress, and suffering to millions of persons, including large numbers of women and children, and have resulted in disease and death for an appalling proportion of them; * * * this situation is an offense to the Christian conscience and has aroused the concern which the Christian churches must feel for suffering humanity.

State Department Agrees to Deportation of 6,600,000 More People

Yet now we are informed that the State Department has announced its consent to additional transfer and mass deportation of 6,600,000 more Germans from their ancestral homes in central and eastern Europe.

We know full well of the treatment of the prisoners of war which we have turned over to France and Russia, yet there has been no official order given yet which countermands this trading in human misery.

Official Aid to Displaced Persons to Be Terminated July 1

We know perfectly well of how utterly impossible it has been for UNRRA to cope with the staggering misery of the officially designated displaced persons which have been torn loose from their homes or released from their prisons to wander in agony across the face of Europe. Yet now we are informed that all official American aid to these victims of persecution and want is to be terminated on July 1.

Government Intends to Terminate UNRRA January 1, 1947

This administration knows full well from the warnings which were given at the Food and Agriculture Conference at Hot Springs over 2 years ago that the most competent experts in that field recognized the need for continued rationing in the United States following the end of the war to avert a famine around the world. Yet now we are told that this Government intends to terminate its support of UNRRA on the 1st of January 1947, even though a far worse calamity threatens in the year ahead.

Mr. President, what are the American people to think of this terrifying display of ineptness and sheer incompetence and confusion mixed with a deliberate attempt to destroy our former enemy as a people and as a nation, all of which seems bent on making tragic matters worse?

Four Sops Thrown to American Public

At this moment, to my knowledge, this administration has consented to four sops being thrown to American public opinion.

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One, Reopening of Mail Service

On April 1, we are now informed, it is the intention of the Army to permit the reopening of mail service to letters weighing not over 24 grams.

Two, Permitting International Red Cross to Operate in Berlin Area

Secondly, after having stood in the way for many months we are permitting the International Red Cross to operate in the greater Berlin area, at the request of the Russian general, General Smirnow.

A recent letter by a high military authority writing from Germany contains the following revelation:

This permission has been granted by a unanimous vote of the Berlin Kommandantura on a motion made by General Smirnow after the matter had been turned down on a higher level due to the reluctance of our officials.

Should there be any relief agencies in the United States who are prepared to bring relief to the desperate plight of the refugees in Greater Berlin, including thousands of children without parents, they could avail themselves of the services of the International Red Cross as this agency is now in a position to distribute relief freely in Berlin.

Three, American Relief Societies Can Ship One-fifth Liberty Ship Per Month

The State Department has also now permitted the American Relief Societies for Foreign Service to ship 2,000 tons of relief goods into Germany per month. The need in Germany is officially set at between 300,000 and 500,000 tons till the end of this crop year. This American relief amounts to one-fifth of a Liberty ship load a month in the face of a hunger catastrophe which has already begun.

Four, a 12-Man Famine Committee Has Been Appointed

This administration has finally consented to the creation of a 12-man Famine Committee under the leadership of former President Hoover to hasten the imposition of self-rationing by the American people on themselves and to find some means of putting the whole food crisis in its proper perspective.

But all of these things are merely so much superficial window dressing in the face of the tragedy now threatening the world.

Mr. President, something terrible has happened to America. The American people have been and continue to be maneuvered into one of the most diabolic crimes ever committed against a civilized people. Unless and until we are able to compel a change and to force this mad fanaticism to break its vicious grip which is dragging the whole world down into chaos and agony, we shall earn the everlasting contempt and hatred of our fellow men and the enduring condemnation of our Creator.

Administration Denies People Right to Personally Relieve Suffering

Yet, Mr. President, in spite of the rising suffering and mass starvation before us, in spite of the tremendous amount of relief which the American people and relief societies would be able and willing to supply, this administration continues, with a totalitarian contempt for all laws of democracy and decency, to deny to our people the right to help personally to relieve this suffering.

The time has come to put an end once and for all to the hatreds which have

been permitted to eat their way into the very bloodstream of so many Americans, both in civilian and public life. The crisis upon us is increasing in such ferocity and magnitude that nothing but a violent repudiation of the policies and practices which have produced this rising tidal wave of human misery can save us.

When the true conditions around the world come to light; when the American people waken to realize they have been betrayed by a fanatical group of men within their own leadership; when the whitened sepulchers of our empty promises which are now being filled with the wasted flesh and bones of innocent and guilty alike are fully exposed to view; when our riches win us nothing but universal loathing; and our triumph turns to undying hatred, when we are unable longer to take the names of Jefferson, Washington, or Lincoln upon our lips without shame, when we must cast our eyes to the dust at the mention of the name of our Lord and Master, then the American people will demand to know who has smeared them with this guilt.

Former Captain in United States Army, Senator Knowland, Says United States Zone Better Than Others

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President and Members of the Senate, I would not want this afternoon to pass following the remarks of the senior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. LANGER], and have the impression remain in the Senate and throughout the country that the United States Government had pursued a policy comparable to the Nazi policy in Europe, because in my opinion such is not the case. It happened to have been my privilege to have served for a time in Ger-

many, and I think I know first-hand some of the conditions existing there.

War is not a pleasant thing. Severe damage has been done; serious dislocations have taken place all over Europe; but I believe it can be said without fear of successful contradiction that in the zone occupied by the United States Army conditions are better than in any other zone of occupation. I think that is borne out by the fact that many of the people of Germany are very glad and very anxious to come into the American zone of occupation.

Knowland Says Army Has Done Excellent Job

Mr. President, I would not want to go unchallenged today any suggestion that the American Army has fallen down in its occupation job, because I do not believe that is so. Certainly the Army organization, like every other large organization, has made mistakes. However, the fact remains that the enlisted men and the officers, doing a very difficult job under very trying conditions, have brought about, I believe, rather remarkable results. They went into Germany in a period when there was utter dislocation, when communications systems had been broken down, when food supplies had been disrupted. They went to work and reestablished communications; they rebuilt bridges; they set up governments; they were able finally to get the educational system operating again; and they have assisted in working out the food problem.

Knowland Deplores Carving of Germany Into Four Zones

I am quite willing to agree with the Senator from North Dakota that the
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general theory of dividing Germany into four zones of occupation was not wise. I believe that it has made more difficult the job of the occupation authorities, because when the lines of demarkation were established, in effect four different nations were created out of one. We find that the industrial activity is in the British zone. A large part of the food supply is in the Russian zone. A large part of the industrial Saarland is in the French zone. The American zone has some foodstuffs, and some other activities. This, of course, made the occupation job more difficult.

Knowland Says Dismantling of German Industry Essential to Peace

As I previously stated, Mr. President, it is not a fact that this Government is engaging in any conspiracy to starve the German people. Remarks have been made on the floor heretofore objecting to the dismantling of German industries. So far as I can see, Mr. President, this is essential to the future peace of the world. Twice in our generation Germany has threatened the peace of the world. I do not believe that any Member of this body or any man who served in the Army of the United States wants the next generation to go through this process all over again.

Fertilizer Plants Should Be Scrapped, as They Might Be Converted Some Day to War Use

Some remarks were made concerning fertilizer and the importance of reestablishing fertilizer plants. However, I believe that we must keep in mind the fact that it is not only great armament factories which are a danger to the peace

of the world. In the modern industrial nation it is very easy to turn chemical factories and factories which in the normal course of events are used only for peacetime purposes into a vast war machine. In this Nation, one of the most peaceful nations of the world, we found that in the relatively short period of a few years we could change from a nation without an armament industry, so to speak, to the greatest armament producer on the face of the earth.

I believe that our constituted authorities have a responsibility and an obligation, not only to our own people but to all the people of the world, to see that neither Germany nor Japan shall ever again be permitted to establish industrial organizations which would permit them to make war on the rest of the world.

Some remarks were made earlier to the effect that conditions are worse than they were during the Nazi occupation of Europe. I cannot speak for any of the other zones of occupation, but I can testify that such is not the case in any zone occupied by the United States Army.

I did not mean to take the time of the Senate today to discuss this subject, but I felt, in fairness to the Senate and in fairness to the country, that at least a different point of view should be presented.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I have nothing but the highest respect for the distinguished Senator from California. I know that for many months he has not been in Germany, in the occupied zone governed by America. Much as I respect him, nevertheless I have a much higher regard on this particular question of food for Mr. Karl Brandt, about whom

the distinguished Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND] spoke a few minutes ago.

**Langer Refutes Knowland With Letter
Mailed 10 Days Before From Berlin**

I have just as high a regard as has the distinguished Senator from California for what has been done by the Army and Navy and the Air Forces in this war, if not a higher regard. I yield to no man when I say that I believe we have the finest fighting force in the entire world. Nevertheless, we have before us a letter dated not 5 months ago, 6 months ago, 8 months ago, or when the distinguished Senator left California, but dated 10 days ago, from Berlin, at a time when the Senator was sitting here in this air-conditioned Chamber, at the very time when millions of little girls and boys were starving to death, in spite of the fact that the late President of the United States, Franklin Roosevelt, said that this was not a war against the German people, but a war against Hitler. No one despised Hitler and his satellites more than did the Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LANGER. I shall be glad to yield when I conclude.

**Karl Brandt, Economic Adviser of Army
of Occupation, Writes Greatest Famine
of Recent Centuries Is Upon Us in
Central Europe**

I have before me a letter written by Karl Brandt, the man appointed by this very Government to go to Berlin to see that the women and children of our late

enemy were taken care of. What does Karl Brandt say? I wish particularly to have the distinguished Senator from California listen to his statement. Ten days ago the man who is the economic adviser of the army of occupation, the man who is the expert, the man was not there a year ago, but who is there now, said:

The greatest famine catastrophe of recent centuries is upon us in central Europe. Our Government is letting down our military government in the food deliveries it promised, although what General Clay, General Draper, and General Hester asked for and were promised was the barest minimum for survival of the people. We will be forced to reduce the rations from 1,550 calories to 1,000 or less calories.

Buds of Democracy Will Be Burned in Agony of Death of Aged, Women, and Children

The few buds of democracy will be burned out in the agony of death of the aged, the women, and children.

I repeat, Mr. President, that in all its history the United States Government has never made war upon women and children, and is not now making war upon women and children anywhere.

Mr. Brandt continued:

The British and we are going on record as the ones who let the Germans starve.

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Mr. President, those are not the words of the Senator from North Dakota. They are the words of the economic adviser of the army in Berlin.

The Russians will release at the height of the famine substantial food stores they have locked up (300,000-400,000 tons of sugar, large quantities of potatoes).

Aside from the inhumanity involved, it is so criminally stupid to give such a performance of incredible fumbling before the eyes of the world.

I particularly ask my friend from California to listen to this. He has been an officer in the Army. He offered to lay down his life—and I admire and like him—that this country might continue to exist. I ask him to listen to this statement:

It makes all the many hard-working officers of Office of Military Government, Food and Agriculture Branch, ashamed.

Mr. President, I hope the time will never come when I cannot stand on the floor of the Senate and bring to the attention of the American people conditions which I believe to be fundamentally wrong. I intend to fight for what I believe to be right, no matter how unpopular the cause may be; and when the time comes when I cannot speak for what I believe to be right, I shall walk out the door with my head up and my conscience clear.



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